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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Modernizing the Monroe doctrine.* By Charles H. Sherrill, late United States minister to Argentina. With an introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1916. 203 p. \$1.25 net)

This interesting little volume is a plea for Pan-Americanism, "the most altruistic and the most practical foreign policy to which any country ever devoted itself." It is altruistic because it contemplates seriously the advancement of the interests of states other than our own; it is practical because it makes for world peace. As the author understands it, Pan-Americanism is an attempt to assemble the finest traits of a score of republics that they may be employed in combination for the common good of all.

The realization of this ideal — for it is an ideal — must come through mutual appreciation of good qualities, mutual toleration of conflicting viewpoints, and finally through the development of a patriotism which is not circumscribed by the bounds of any single state. In this work the United States must lead and there can be no hope for success until we are able not only to understand our South American neighbors better but to command their respect as well. Until recently the history of our relations with them has been that of lost opportunities. We have ignored and misunderstood them; we have made no really intelligent attempts to become acquainted with them or their country, their likes or dislikes, their good qualities or their short-comings. To picture the Latin Americans, as we of the northern continent are often inclined to do, "in a landscape of palms beneath the sultry rays of a tropical sun, rolling cigarettes, and occasionally ejaculating, mañana" is an error born of ignorance. They have not been enervated by a tropical climate because most of them live under temperate climatic conditions. Neither is their chief occupation or amusement that of fomenting political revolutions. The South Americans have fully as much political sense per capita as their northern brethren; they take their polities more soberly and seriously; and furthermore "there is no more chance of a revolution in such countries as Argentina and Uruguay than there is in Brooklyn." Buenos Aires with its 2,000,000 people, its splendid hotels, department stores, and public buildings, its university, and its excellent newspapers, is thoroughly European in appearance and thoroughly progressive. It suggests the solid character of the best South American citizenship.

The North American has erred not only in neglecting to acquaint himself with the good points of his South American brother but in failing to present his own good qualities in a favorable light as well. In both cases he, not the Latin American, is the loser. Strange as it may seem it has never been thought worth while to take full advantage of the tremendous trade opportunities which the southern continent affords. Although the trade of Argentina, Chili, Brazil, and Uruguay amounted to \$1,800,000,000 in 1913 we enjoyed only a comparatively small part of it because we thought it unnecessary to send there competent, highly trained business and diplomatic representatives who would measure up to the agents employed by England and Germany. In the comparisons which were very naturally made the United States suffered. Moreover, our news service is poor. Cable news from the United States has generally been scanty and so sensational in character as to make an exceedingly unfavorable impression upon South American readers. On the other hand England, Germany, and Japan having studied conditions closely, recognize the value of a carefully supervised news distribution. At regular intervals they furnish to the leading newspapers of the continent adroitly worded statements concerning affairs of world interest not neglecting to magnify the importance of their part in these events.

This general indifference upon the part of the United States has created in South America a corresponding indifference which borders closely upon well defined suspicion. If Pan-Americanism is to become a reality, and if the Monroe doctrine is to be more than the unilateral policy at which Latin Americans and Europeans alike look askance, it is imperative that the United States make some earnest, well-considered, and tactful endeavors to remove the causes of this distrust. Happily some things have been done already. The meetings of the Pan-American congresses, which periodically gather together for the discussion of problems of common interest the best minds of the republics of the western hemisphere, have done much good. The frequent meetings of the Pan-American union (consisting of the Latin-American ambassadors and ministers under our secretary of state as chairman) have contributed to increase mutual respect and to create a new appreciation of the responsibilities as well as the advantages of the Monroe doctrine. The A. B. C. congress was of the greatest practical benefit. In it the United States, by demonstrating its desire to profit by their advice and coöperation in the solution of problems of international interest, proved to the South American republics that its own policy was by no means selfishly national in scope.

The most interesting part of the volume deals with the "Triangle for peace," — Mr. Sherrill's plan for developing Pan-Americanism. His

first suggestion is that affairs common to the interests of the several American states ought to be discussed and settled by a body in which the South American republics are accorded full representation. Second, that the European colonies in the southern continent and Central America should have their freedom either through grant or by purchase by the United States. Finally, the United States must withdraw from the Philippines. Although these islands are rich in resources and are located at the doorway of the orient they are an embarrassment. In times of peace they present serious problems in the civilization and government of the native population; in times of war they must either be defended — an expensive and troublesome task — or evacuated, which would be humiliating. Were the Philippines to be traded for the European colonies in the western hemisphere a long step toward world peace would be taken. The Monroe doctrine would be restored to the position it occupied before the Spanish-American war, the suspicion of Japan would be allayed, and the east would be left to those nations most vitally interested in it and best equipped to solve the problems arising from the administration of colonial dependencies. With South America, Central America, and the West Indies free from European control reorganization could take place with the aid of the United States. The Guianas, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, more or less closely united physiographically, might be induced to form a confederacy; Argentina, Chili, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay could do the same since their interests are identical; and although the West Indies would remain in the possession of the United States the Central American states might find it to their advantage to unite into some sort of a league.

Not many years ago these suggestions had a place only in the realm of possibility but today they may well be called probabilities. The United States will be represented at the conference which makes the world peace and this nation can make a solid contribution to the welfare of the western hemisphere and at the same time aid in securing the peace of the world by urging the program advanced by Mr. Sherrill. At no time in the world's history will our allies be more inclined to favor such proposals. Moreover, if the plan already hinted at in German circles of an alliance with Russia and Japan matures, it is imperative that the United States unify the western hemisphere or be prepared to abandon the doctrine of "entangling alliances with none."

WILLIAM V. POOLEY

*History of the presidency.* By Edward Stanwood, Litt.D. (Bowdoin). In two volumes. Volume one, History of the presidency from 1788 to 1897. Volume two, History of the presidency from 1897 to 1916.